[171] Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
535 "original to" the Auetõ and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetõ and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hũvát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north
[731] of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Reverend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built, and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this request was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed 20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said, "I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired, on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer," as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he laughed happily.

At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front of the little house beside the village which had been built for him and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest. Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away. They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to sleep."

In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distinguished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl, their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice, and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days' march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women, and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó, became my close friend and an exception among his people in his increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the village that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that already in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north. A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in 1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this communal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled from the community. It is well to note, however, that this hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Furthermore, when people leave the village for several days with their families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to carry because they are few and light in weight.

It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tampiitáua in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutáua, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tampiitáua, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tampiitáua. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutáua may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tampiitáua. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutáua inhabitants had been in Tampiitáua at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "capitain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league east of Tampiitáua. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tampiitáua moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's village was founded, camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separatists returned to Tampiitáua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican expedition of 1913 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilometers a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts, each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The people we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in Tampiitáua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitáua couples included 20 where [582] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

592 162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 ●166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitáua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 758 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitáua: there were 166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p. 42]

underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytáua, a word made up of moyva, "cane," and táua, "village." The other three extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantáua, from kuruá or koruá "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruá [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotáua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotáua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotáua was the "Chichutáua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitáua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

Tampiitáua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Beroromandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

361 342 345 The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

361 166 The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, [621] [578] that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 136 166 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella 361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from [764] [731] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 79]

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

175 they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of
648 families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[1] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

131 But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, re-
166 -organized. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer,
178 all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had
[648] migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tawidho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest
361 some three or four kilometers from it. The village had
178 been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé *society* might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé *culture* continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

177 But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo since Čičutawa is near Kayapo territory.

121 [122] [137] Having been invited by Dr. Modesto Donatini Dias da Cruz, Director of the Indian Service, to represent the São Paulo Museum and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo on the team he organized to inspect the Indian posts and to explore certain areas of central Brazil, I imparted to him in a report dated October 31, 1947, the observations made in the course of the journey carried out during the months of June, July, and August of the same year, as well as a few suggestions on the matter. The following pages are a reproduction of this report with a few modifications and additions.

I. The Tapirapé

162 621 On July 19, 1947, we counted 62 inhabitants in the Tapirapé village of Tampiitáua, 59 of whom were subjected to a medical examination by my traveling companion, Dr. Harolodo Cândido de Oliveira. The following table provides the age and sex ratios:

	Male	Female	Total
5 years and under	5	3	8
from 6 to 15 years	7	3	10
from 16 to 30 years	14	17	31
over 30 years old	6	4	10
Total	32	27	59

It is to be assumed that the three who evaded the examination were boys. In addition, we found at Pôrto Velho a Tapirapé woman over 30 years old who was living among the frontier people.

In 1935, Tampiitáua had 130 inhabitants, 69 of them male and 61 female.

[166] It should be mentioned that since that time certain individuals have emigrated to Txitxutáua, another Tapirapé village located quite a distance away. Their number, however, seems to be inferior to that of persons who have moved from there to Tampiitáua. According to various [138] reports, Txitxutáua is much smaller than this village, so that today the entire Tapirapé tribe probably does not exceed 100 members. [161]

726 During the last days of August, Cayapo warriors--Gorotirés evidently--attacked the Tapirapé village while all the men were at Lake Tucunaré. Only the women, children, and the old man Camaraé were left. They killed two women and a young girl: Eirôa, wife of Tampiri, Amoou, wife of Perera, and Tamamãtchoa, and abducted a woman, a young girl, and a small boy: Iparénahí, wife of Camaraé, Amarai, daughter of Pereira, and Uãcuré, son of Eirôa (please excuse the transcription of these Tupy [Tupi] words). The old man shot his arrows, and the Cayapo "braves" fled after burning down two houses.

[648] 727 Father Palha and I found the frightened population at Pôrto Velho, where they had sought refuge, lacking everything, hungry, disheartened. In short, a heart-rending sight similar to what I have seen in Europe. We convinced the Tapirapés to go to their village. The women were afraid and tried to dissuade the men. Seven left with us, and four stuck it out to the end. We found this charming little village, which you were the last to visit along with Dr. Haroldo, savagely looted. We brought back the cudgels that were used in the slaughter. I shall describe them to you and give you many other details of this event. The Cayapos had returned that very morning to continue the looting. Unfortunately, we did not come upon them. We remained one day and one night. The three Tapirapés took up a load of cotton and flour (they have no more hammocks and suffer a great deal) and set fire to their village to prevent the enemy from utilizing it further. It was rather tragic. We returned to Pôrto Velho. They intend to settle

• [166] 648 a few leagues from São Jõao. I saw the large plots of these good, industrious, peaceful

648 people, and it is a pity. Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins, but no one does anything about it. I shall leave in three or four days for Maraba, where I shall catch the plane. I hope to proceed directly to São Paulo, where I shall promptly look you up to see whether it would be possible to obtain urgent help for these poor Tapirapés.

I hope to see you soon and send you, esteemed Professor, my sincerest regards.

(S) M. H. Lelong, O.P.

[Translated from French.]

648 727 and that the survivors sought refuge in Pôrto Velho, where they lack foodstuffs, sleeping hammocks, cotton to make new hammocks, agricultural tools, and kitchen implements (2).

2. I have omitted those parts of my report in which I emphasized the need to send help to the survivors. The man who saved them was Mr. Lucio Penna da Luz, who gave them shelter and food. In September, 1948, Mr. Harald [166] Schultz, Assistant in Ethnology at the São Paulo Museum, found the majority of them living in sheds at the São Pedro ranch, the property of Mr. Lucio, located on the right bank of the Tapirapé.

648 An urgent measure to be taken is the establishment of a post on the upper Tapirapé River. Up to now, the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres [143], located at the mouth of that river, was intende to protect the Tapirapé Indians. It turned out to be inadequate for th purpose because it was too far removed from the habitat of the tribe. On the other hand, as early as 1942, when I commented on the attempts to resettle the Tapirapé at that spot on the Araguaia, I called attention to the fact that "the immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be

offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akué-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampaneá (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a Federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be considered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources, lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of Tampiitáua and Txitxutáua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

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[166]

Conceição do Araguaia, as was Father Luiz Palha's plan." He says that these Indians wish to build a village near the houses of the above-mentioned São Pedro ranch, on the right margin of the Tapirapé, and he adds: "If the Indian Service is not in a position to establish a post for the Tapirapé Indians, it would be worth studying the possibility of entrusting Mr. Lucio da Luz with their protection. Mr. Lucio da Luz is a man of great means, and he would not be primarily interested in the meager wages of a man-in-charge or whatever he might be to those Indians, but would do this rather out of the humanitarian feelings which he seems to possess."

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[311]

Whatever the case may be, there are three basic needs to be considered in any resettlement of the Tapirapé: 1) the existence of an extensive forest adequate for the large gardens of this essentially farming tribe; 2) the exclusion of all representatives of our civilization who are not employees of the Indian Service, anthropologists, or physicians associated with the Service; 3) the exclusion of members of other aboriginal tribes.

I believe that Father Lelong is correct when he writes in his letter with reference to the Kaiapó who invaded Tapirapé territory: "Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins." These ten men, however, should be under the orders of the Indian Service so as to catch the culprits in the slaughter without shedding blood and take them to the idyllic penitentiary established at the Indian post of Icatu in the state of São Paulo. One of the most urgent tasks is unquestionably the lasting pacification of the northern Kaiapó who, unlike the Akué-Chavante, have the habit of leaving the traditional boundaries of their territory to attack harmless neighbors (cf. what I wrote about this in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 102, São Paulo, 1945, pp. 123-130).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

Ta Te 121

contact and to revive, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely inter-related with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupí speaking tribes of Brazil.

Ta Te [131] 161 648

The two Tupí speaking tribes in question are the Tenetehara of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Luso-Brazilians the Tenetehara in 1945 still numbered some 2000 people —— not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic and peaceful contact with Luso-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenetehara still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 almost totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

Ta Te [182]

Te 177 648 797

A partial answer to this very different reaction to Luso-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the first decades of Tenetehara relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1759) seems to have given the Tenetehara time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The missionaries were able to prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory; and after the expulsion

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(2) Basic description of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara have been published elsewhere: Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1948 A, 1948 B, and 1949. Baldus, 1937, 1944-1949, 1948 B, 1949 9B, Ms. Only directly pertinent descriptive data is present in this paper.

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(3) Cf. Wagley (1940) and Baldus (1945 vol. CIII, 1948 B, 1949 B), for discussion of Tapirapé depopulation and disorganization. Baldus (1948 B) pp. 137-138, who found the village called Tampiitáua inhabited by 150 individuals in 1938, and only 63 in 1947, mentions that during this lapse of time several inhabitants had emigrated to another Tapirapé village very far from Tampiitáua, but that their number seems to be lower than the number of those who came from there to Tampiitáua. According to information received by this author, the other village is smaller than Tampiitáua, so that in 1947 the whole tribe probably counted less than a hundred members. In the same year, shortly after Baldus' visit, the Tapirapé were attacked by Kayapó Indians and lost several individuals.

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by Bento Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupí speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused